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According to official data 1,434 square miles of land, or close to 70 per cent. of Bali's surface, was under cultivation in 1948. Of that area 26 per cent. consisted of wet ricefields, 41 per cent. of non-irrigated fields (about one-third of them planted with maize, one-third with beans and tubers, and one-seventh with rice), 7 per cent. of coffee gardens, and 17 per cent. of coconut groves. By far the largest complex of *sawahs* is in the central Balinese highlands, where it covers an important part of the present regions of Tabanan, Badung, Gianyar, and Klungkung. In the other regions the *sawah* area is considerably smaller. The mountainous Bangli has *sawahs* only at its southern point, Karangasĕm and Jĕmbrana each have a *sawah* belt around their regional capitals, and Buleleng has two *sawah* areas, one around the administrative seat and one in the stretch to the northwest of the Batu Kau.

Figures on the farmland available in 1948 and comparative data on the relative density of population are given in Table 6.

TABLE 6: DENSITY OF POPULATION ON BALI PER REGION IN COMPARISON TO FARMLAND AVAILABLE, 1950

Region	*Total Area (in square miles)*	*Population (1950)*	*Sawah Acreage (1948)*	*Dry-Field Acreage (1948)*	*Inhabitants per Square Mile of Farmland*
Buleleng	510	229,870	34,429	151,297	798
Jĕmbrana	325	63,153 (?)	15,016	71,095	469 (?)
Tabanan	329	238,520	62,198	110,847	881
Badung	209½	259,980	47,732	60,119	1,536
Gianyar	142	221,490	39,022	34,233	1,932
Bangli	201	100,010	7,937	72,512	795
Klungkung	121½	113,870	11,952	48,610	1,207
Karangasĕm	332½	257,150	19,975	130,800	1,080
Bali	*2,170½*	*1,484,043*	*238,261*	*679,513*	*1,033*

Table 7 gives figures on the net yields from agriculture for 1953. These few figures[14] are perhaps enough to indicate the importance of agriculture, and in particular wet-rice farming. The latter is, in fact, mentioned even in very old royal edicts. One of them dating from 1022 refers to the irrigation association as *kĕsuwakan*, a term related to the Modern Balinese word for

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In the Gelgel period there must have been a sort of feudal system: the rulers awarded lands to the peers of the realm as apanages. Most of those lands were apparently located in fertile central Bali, which was probably populous even then.

The 'land north of the mountains' (Buleleng), Karangasĕm, and the central Balinese mountain areas stayed outside the reach of the system; even more so did Jĕmbrana. The power of the rulers was uncertain in those regions (in various of which, as the reader will remember, resistance had been strongest at the time of the Majapahit expeditions).[44] Hence the ruler and his officials interfered much less in the *desa* system, with the result that many institutions in those areas were preserved in an older form.[45] The inhabitants there are sometimes referred to as *Bali-aga*, 'original Balinese'. The term is somewhat misleading, for it might give the impression that they are free of Hindu influences, which is not the case. Old Balinese edicts dating from the tenth century have been found in mountain *desas* such as Sĕmbiran, Tĕrunyan, and Dausa[46] – edicts dealing with those villages themselves or other places in the vicinity. This fact points towards the existence of an influence from the older Hindu-Balinese royal sphere. The later, Javanese-Balinese influences, however, have been much weaker in these mountain regions than in the region of the great apanages. The *Bali-aga*, then, should not be characterized as 'original Balinese', but as 'non-Javanized Hindu-Balinese'.[47]

The period of relatively undisturbed development came to an end first in northern Bali. In 1849 that part of the island was forced to recognize Dutch suzerainty, and in 1882 it was placed under the direct administration of the Netherlands East Indies government. The southern Balinese principalities followed in the first years of the twentieth century. Bali was made a part of the federal state of East Indonesia in 1946, and together with the rest of the state was incorporated in the unitary Republic of Indonesia in August, 1950.

Let us, on the basis of a few clear-cut examples, now attempt to form a picture of the interplay of the elements of Balinese culture.

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kĕmimitan), the clan temples (*pura dadia*), and so forth. This cursory survey may be enough to indicate that the village sanctuaries to be discussed below form only one part of the tremendous total of Bali's temples.

The village temples are an element indispensable to the village community. Their maintenance, and the festivals held in them, constitute the object of the village's first and foremost task. This temple service derives from two series of concepts, two basic ideas. The first is that the ground belongs to the gods, and the second that the living population of the *desa* desires to maintain contact with its deceased ancestors.

The former of these basic ideas, that the land belongs to the gods, may be illustrated by quotations from authorities on the subject. Liefrinck cites a passage from a *desa* document regarding the members of the *desa* association – "its members ... have charge over a certain territory, which, however, belongs to the gods" – and goes on to say:

> It is, then, a prime duty of the people of the *desa* to care for these gods, to pay them due homage, and to present them with offerings. Hence temples must be founded and maintained for them, since if that is not done they will take awful revenge.[4]

Elsewhere Liefrinck writes:

> In order to obtain an understanding of the prime rights exercised on the land, we must attempt to visualize for a moment the conception which the Balinese has of the original condition of the land. The whole country then lies in a formless state: the mountains are covered with forest to their very peaks, between them the mountain lakes in their solemn silence; the rivers flow through the valleys, following their course to the sea undisturbed, now slowly, now at a tremendous speed; the hill country and plains they stream through have never been touched by human hands. A few human beings may roam here and there, but they live like animals in the forest, and like animals feed on what the forest has to offer, no more inclined than animals to call anything their property. The whole country seems uninhabited. But it is only seeming, for the gods hover above the land and above the water.
>
> Every mountain is inhabited by a deity, every lake has its goddess, there is not a spot of ground that escapes their influence. They are invisible, but omnipotent. It can hardly be expected that, when people

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who have such a conception of matters are asked the question "Whom does the land belong to?" the honest answer can be anything but: "The land, with everything that grows on it, the water that flows through it, the air that envelops it, the rock it holds in its womb, belongs without exception or limitation to the invisible gods and spirits who inhabit it."

This conception glimmers through in every conversation about land rights one has with Balinese who are in the position to state their opinion open-mindedly, and is completely natural for persons at their stage of evolution ... If any confirmation of the assertion that this is really their opinion is needed, it might be found in certain village writings, for example the *awig-awig* of Kubutambahan, which explicitly state that in certain cases grounds which someone is farming can be taken away from him if he does not meet his obligations, "since they are the property of the deity".

... Also completely in keeping with this notion of the overriding rights of the deity is the fact that land is never farmed before permission has been requested from the local deity and that as soon as cultivation has begun nothing is considered more essential than to erect an altar to the deity as an expression of gratitude. A part of the crops harvested from the lands should be presented to the deity as an offering, and whenever wood and other materials for the repair of temples or altars are needed they are taken where they are best to be found, regardless of whatever rights persons may exercise on the lands where they occur ...

All in all, the above removes every doubt that, in the view of the Balinese, the land is owned by the gods who inhabit the country.[8]

Korn, likewise, says:

The religious character of the Balinese village community determines its whole field of activity: from that character it derives its competence to claim not only the spare time of its members but also the labour of their wives and children for the sake of a great number of solemnities and events. On the basis of that religious character it interferes with family and property affairs, and its hand of punishment is applied almost exclusively as a result of religious considerations.

What determines this religious character? The notion that it is the task either of a representative of one family, usually a *pasih* [see below], of the representatives of certain families, or of all the members of the community united in a *desa* association to see that a certain area remains pure. The very territory of the *desa*, indicated by such terms as *padesan*, *pérbumian*, *wéwéngkon desa*, *bumi*, *gumi palasan*, *payar*, *kuhum*, is itself an object of veneration...

The village territory, we have seen, needs to be kept pure. The consequence of this principle is an immense series of commandments and pro-

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ary cleansing. There is also a small gate to the *tĭba* from the pig-342
pen, and the omnivorous pigs serve to keep the area cleaned up.

At various places in the walls of the buildings there are *bĕlongs* or offering niches, for example in the *paon*, the *bale siyadandan*, the *gĕdong*, and the *bale buga*, which last niche is known as *bĕlong alingaling*.[3] In the walls on the street side there are several blind windows.

This description of a Tĕngananese compound holds true for most of the compounds in the village, though there are some of slightly larger dimensions. The uniform architecture gives the village a well-groomed appearance, and that impression is reinforced by the fact that the attractive assembly halls and other public buildings are also laid out in one line.

A disproportionally large *desa* territory belongs to this residential 361
village of approximately thirty acres. There is a legend regarding 311
the origin of the *desa* territory that is current in various versions. 538
Long, long ago the ruler of Bedahulu had a favourite horse, pitch black with a white tail, that was also much in the favour of the ruler's groom (*i pĕkatik*). Once, in the heat of battle, the ruler lost his horse. He sent his subjects out to seek the animal: he sent the *pandes mas*, the goldsmiths, to the northwest, where they established themselves as the Bratanese, and the *pandes wĕsi*, the blacksmiths, to the east. Led by the *pĕkatik*, Onche Sĕraya,' the *pandes wĕsi* finally came to Chandi Dasa, where the *pĕkatik* found the horse dead in the forest. He immediately informed the ruler, who asked, "Tell me, groom, do you still cherish love for my horse?" To which the *pĕkatik* answered humbly, "Hail, exalted ruler of the world; if you have no objections, I pray you to allow me to keep vigil over the body of the horse in the forest; when I die, let it be beside the horse, for my love for it has not diminished." The ruler of Bedahulu answered, "This is your considered request; so be it. But then you must accept a favour from me. See how far you can trace the smell of the body in the neighbourhood; as far as it reaches, so far shall the territory extend which I grant you as a sign of my gratitude for the love you bear my horse."[4] And the

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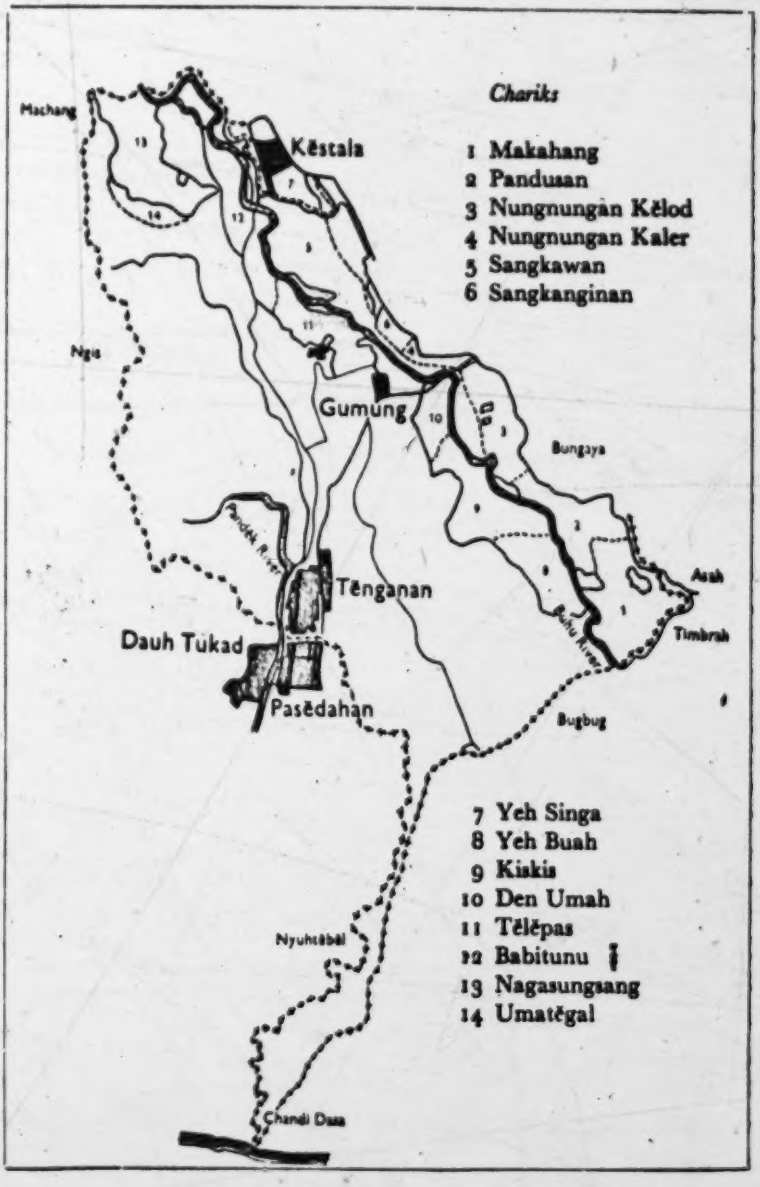

THE DESA TERRITORY OF TĔNGANAN

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pĕkatik requested the ruler's permission to return to the corpse. As soon as he arrived he chopped the animal into pieces and carried them in various directions, so that the smell of the corpse spread over a larger area. The territory he acquired in this way comprised the present village territory of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. On the spot where Onche Sĕraya found the body, there still stands the *pura batu manggar*, nearby Chandi Dasa in the south. In the west, where he took the thighs, is the *pura pĕpuhon;* in the north, where the belly was placed, is the *pura batu kĕbĕn;* and in the east, where he left the entrails, is the *pura tai kik*. Then there are the *pura rambut pule* in the northeast, the *pura pĕnimbalan* in the southeast, and the *pura kaki dukun* in the centre, where Onche Sĕraya deposited the horse's head, forelegs, and scrotum respectively. At all these places there are peculiarly shaped stones which are revered as parts of the horse. All Tĕngananese coming from the *pasar* at Sibĕtan or Bĕbandĕm place an offering on the *kaki dukun*. The worshipping of stones is customary throughout Bali, but particularly in Karangasĕm. Everywhere one comes across stones of somewhat unusual shapes or extraordinary dimensions that have been set up, and where offerings are made. In the *pura pĕtung* there are nothing but large stones on the offering platforms.[5]

In another version of the legend the *pĕkatik* carried a piece of the horse's body in his bamboo walking stick as he went around with the official who had been charged by the ruler to check how far the smell of the corpse could be detected. A third version makes the horse the property of the well-known priest Wau Rauh.[6]

The *desa* territory has a small stretch of beach, the Pasi Chandi Dasa, named after the Hindu Chandi Dasa in the territory of the *desa* of Bungaya, where there is a statue of Hariti.[7] In earlier times the village is said to have been located on this beach and to have borne the name of Panĕgĕs, according to some people called after the village of Tĕgĕs, between Pĕliatan and Bedahulu in Gianyar, whence the Tĕngananese are said to hail. But the dwellings were constantly being destroyed by the sea, so the people moved further inland – *ngĕlĕngahang* this is called, which gave rise to the name

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361 311 538 Tĕnganan:[1] The village came to be called Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan because of the skill of the village women in making *gĕringsing* fabrics. The village boundaries are described in detail in the *desa* constitution.

621 133 The topography is extremely rough. The footpaths are very hard to traverse especially in the rainy season, and several expeditions through the *desa* territory and to other villages in the neighbourhood helped me understand why the region of Karangasĕm was earlier described by the military patrols as *kurang asĕm*, 'short of breath'. Running through the western part of the village territory from north to south is the Pandĕk River, and in the eastern part the Buhu River streams through a fine complex of *sawahs*. There are two other settlements in the *desa* territory. Kĕstala, Wra Kĕstala, or Ora Kĕstala in the north is a hamlet of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan founded owing to special circumstances. Gumung, a few miles to the north of Tĕnganan, is a daughter *desa* of the village of Bungaya. Both settlements have their own territory, the first as a *banjar*, and the second as a *desa*.

621 [162] In 1926 the total population of the village proper of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan was 603, of which 415 could be considered as full-fledged citizens. The others were either people born elsewhere or people who had transgressed village customs in one way or another. Anyone used to the sturdy figure of Balinese farmers is struck by the none-too-healthy appearance of these valley inhabitants. This is probably to be attributed in part to the fact that the closed-in location of the village leads to a sultry temperature during the day. On the other hand the village has the advantage of significantly longer cool periods, since the sun rises later over the eastern hills and disappears earlier behind those to the west than is the case in the open plains, and moreover the absence of stagnant water, even in the remotest corners of the village, has [164] the result that there are very few mosquitoes, and so no malaria. Other possible causes for the less vigorous appearance of the people are the idle way of life of the actual core of the population and the high degree of inbreeding. The members of the village

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seven to the southwest of it. The names of those in the first group (followed in parentheses by the weir irrigating them) are Mĕkahang (Mĕkahang), Pĕndusan (Pĕndusan), Nungnungan Kĕlod (Nungnungan Kĕlod), Nungnungan Kaler (Nungnungan Kangin), Sangkawan (Sangkawan), Sangkanginan (Sangkawan), and Yeh Singa (Sangkawan). The names of those in the second group are Yeh Buah (Yeh Buah), Kiskis (Kiskis), Den Umah (Den Umah), Tĕlĕpas (Babitunu), Babitunu (Babitunu), Naga Sungsang (Naga Sungsang), and Umatĕgal (Naga Sungsang).

Six of the *chariks* are said to belong to the *desa:* Mĕkahang, Pĕndusan, Nungnungan, Yeh Buah, Kiskis, and Den Umah. Nungnungan and Yeh Buah consist entirely of offering *sawahs*, and the other four comprise the membership shares of the core villagers, unless some *sawahs* are not awarded because of the small number of eligible holders, in which case the surplus is added to the offering lands.

The *sawahs* are rented out on shares (*nyakap*) to the *sĕkahas pĕnyakap*. Sangkawan, for example, is rented to the *sĕkaha banjar* of Kĕstala, and Sangkanginan to the *sĕkaha pura dadia* of Kĕstala. This sharecropper's right can be withdrawn after the harvest (as has happened in the case of the *sĕkaha desa* of Gumung), hence the *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* has no permanent interest in the lands. For this reason it seldom makes any large-scale improvements in the irrigation works, and such improvements generally have to be financed by the *sĕkaha charik*. The tunnels in the village territory, for example, were built by people from Kĕstala and Gumung in return for wages.

The power in the *charik* is concentrated in the *sĕkaha toya*, whose members are called *sinomans*. The administration consists of three *klihans:* a *klihan sĕkaha* or *subak*, a *pĕnyarikan*, and a *saya*. This administration is assisted by two criers chosen from among the members in monthly rotation. The *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* rarely convenes its meetings in the irrigation-association temple or *bĕdugul*, which is considered as belonging to the ground; usually they are held in a temple of the members of the *sĕkaha*. The *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* of Sangkanginan, for example, meets on Saturday-Klion in the

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231 great choruses. The Balinese are not disturbed by them and sleep peacefully through the hideous noise. The curs are supposed to [776] frighten away witches and evil spirits, but I could never discover how our neighbours knew when it was an ordinary mortal and not a devil that the dogs barked at; they always awoke when a stranger came into the house at night. Such dogs were undoubtedly provided by the gods to keep Bali from perfection.

361 The Balinese make a clear differentiation between the [311] dwelling-grounds and the "unlived" parts of the village, those for public use such as the temples, assembly halls, market, cemeteries, public baths. The village is a unified organism in which [621] every individual is a corpuscle and every institution an organ. The heart of the village is the central square, invariably located in the "centre" of the village, the intersection of the two main avenues: the big road that runs from the Balinese "North-South" and a street that cuts it at right angles from "East-West." Consequently the crossroads are the centre of a Rose of [823] the Winds formed by the entire village; the cardinal directions mean a great deal to the Balinese and the crossroads are a magic spot of great importance.

All around and in the square are the important public places of the village; the town temple (*pura desa*) (A), with its hall of

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Ricefields ready for planting, seen from terraces above them